1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep.
221 We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
● 264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they
[462] are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 [464] not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 461 [264] To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled rakes and "combed" the tree.

[412] "Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to [832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come [264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had [466] been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in [264] picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each [521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends.

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground.

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?"

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [9] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 [432] in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 [146] Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] [855] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[8]

262 264 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm porridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

251

262 [574] [146] Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occasion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 184 [146] Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 572 184 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

142
291
241
264
415
576

13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

142
252
291

[p. 272-I]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) #63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebrations, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Additional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth.

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping.

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters.

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264] [515]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514 744
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

342 341 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here that the oven is usually built.

264 513 286 251 252

Fig. 4 Old house at Perrai in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 3)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

[1] [prestoon = open portico - Analyst.]

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 264 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [369] [555]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [655] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
602

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

594 [855] [852] [796] [527] [177]

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

594 855 [264] [527]

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

594 [521] [342] [156]

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

264 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an
594 occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after
[461] one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then
[369] stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality
594 involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

196 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for
26 you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition.
455 The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such
[369] things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and
264 every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the